

Christian Faith

and

International

Responsibility

*Report of the Fourth National
Study Conference on
the Churches and World Order*

Cleveland, Ohio, October 27-30, 1953

National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

"In the Difficult Times . . ."

"It is precisely in these difficult and anxious times that the churches of Christ in the United States must speak and speak clearly. . . . The National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., through its Department of International Justice and Goodwill, is calling a nationwide Study Conference on the Churches and World Order. . . . I call upon all of our constituent churches to co-operate in the preparatory study leading to the conference as well as in the educational program which will follow."

*Bishop William C. Martin, president
National Council of Churches,
Conference Call, February 5, 1953.*

For the Thoughtful and Prayerful Attention of the Churches

"The Division of Christian Life and Work of the National Council of Churches has taken deep satisfaction in the convening of the Fourth National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order. The Division transmits to the churches for their thoughtful and prayerful attention the Message of the Conference, the Reports of its four Sections, its Resolutions, and its Closing Statement. Although the conference was called by the National Council of Churches it does not speak for the National Council."

*Action of the Executive Board,
Division of Christian Life and Work
November 17, 1953.*

This report is published for the Department of International Justice and Goodwill, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y., by the Department of Publication and Distribution.

Additional copies are available for 30¢ each from the

**Department of Publication and Distribution
National Council of Churches
120 E. 23rd Street, New York 10, N. Y.**

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Department of International Justice and Goodwill
National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the U.S.A.

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A Word About the Conference

Christian Faith and International Responsibility was the theme of the Fourth National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order held in Cleveland, Ohio, October 27-30, 1953. The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., through its Department of International Justice and Goodwill, called the conference. The presiding officer was Mrs. Douglas Horton, chairman of the Department. The conference spoke only for itself, not for the churches there represented or for the National Council.

Aim of the conference was to consider major foreign policy issues facing the United States in the light of our common Christian faith. The delegates sought to speak "as Christians and as American citizens to American citizens about American responsibilities in the world community."

The thirty member communions of the National Council and several other communions were invited to send voting delegates. State and local councils of churches with professional leadership, certain units of the National Council, the National YMCA, the National YWCA, and the United Student Christian Council were also invited to send delegates. Members of the Department of International Justice and Goodwill, participants in the five Preparatory Study Commissions and staff from certain units of the National Council were invited to take part as nonvoting consultants.

According to our tabulation, 380 delegates and 50 consultants participated in the deliberations at Cleveland. There were 51 registered observers, including six Germans. The delegates and consultants came from 26 communions, including 11 consultants from the United Church of Canada. There were 67 delegates appointed by 12 state councils of churches and 28 local councils, representing a total of 18 states. Delegates and consultants came from a grand total of 36 states and Washington, D.C.

Of the 430 participants 243 (56.5 per cent) were ordained and 187 (43.5 per cent) were laymen. Vocationally there were 121 church executives (including 17 from the National Council), 109 pastors, 43 from college and seminary faculties, 23 church editors and writers, and 20 executives from other nonprofit agencies. There were also 54 housewives, 29 business executives, 9 lawyers, 11 students, and 11 from other vocations. Ninety-five (22 per cent) of the delegates and consultants were women.

At the invitation of the Conference Committee the State Department sent three resource persons and the Foreign Operations Administration sent one. These were the only government officials present at the conference with the exception of Assistant Secretary of State Thruston B. Morton who gave an

address at the public meeting on the evening of October 27. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt addressed the same meeting.

The Rt. Rev. Angus Dun gave the keynote address on the conference theme. Herman F. Reissig also addressed a plenary session.

Five preliminary study commissions were set up to prepare background papers for the Conference. Commission 1, *Christian Faith and International Responsibility*, was chaired by Bishop Dun. The paper prepared by this Commission was used as the basis of discussion by the Message Committee under the chairmanship of Mrs. Horton. Other members included John C. Bennett, William H. Beahm, Prentiss Cooper, Bishop Dun, Franklin D. Elmer, Miss Georgia Harkness, George McGhee, Bishop D. Ward Nichols, O. Frederick Nolde, Bishop Bromley Oxnam, and Mrs. James D. Wyker. Mr. Fagley served as secretary of Commission 1 and of the Message Committee. In addition, each of the four Sections sent two persons to the Message Committee to represent the interests and concerns of the Section. Each Section met for nine hours.

Section 2, the *United States and the United Nations*, was chaired by Mrs. Edith Sampson who also chaired the preliminary commission on this topic. Charles F. Boss, Jr., was the secretary of the commission and the Section.

Section 3, the *United States and Foreign Economic Policy*, was chaired by Willard Thorp. Wesley F. Rennie was the secretary. These two men were also the officers of the preliminary commission.

Section 4, the *United States and the Less Developed Areas*, was chaired by Emory Ross. Its secretary was Harold Letts. Dr. Ross chaired the preliminary commission; Herman F. Reissig was secretary.

Section 5, the *United States and Collective Security*, was chaired by Frank P. Graham. A. William Loos was the secretary. These men were also the officers of the preliminary commission.

Space does not permit us to name all the persons who served on the drafting committees of the preliminary commissions or of the Sections at Cleveland.

The conference *adopted* a Message, *Christian Faith and International Responsibility*; twelve resolutions on specific issues; and a Closing Statement. The Conference also *received* the reports from the four Sections and commended them to the churches for their study and appropriate action. The Message, Section Reports and the Closing Statement were likewise commended to the churches. All the documents were referred to the Department of International Justice and Goodwill for its consideration in the preparation of study materials and in the formulation of policy statements for subsequent submission to the General Board of the National Council of Churches. In order to meet space requirements and to avoid duplication the Section Reports were somewhat shortened.

WALTER W. VAN KIRK, *executive director*
Department of International Justice and Goodwill

10 December 1953

"The Churches of Christ Must Speak . . ."

*The Official Call to the Fourth National Study Conference
on the Churches and World Order*

In the past turbulent decade the United States has been thrust into a position of world leadership. Our country has become the most powerful nation in the free world. This power carries with it great responsibility. In a world threatened by tyranny, by rising nationalism, and by unrest in the less developed areas, the power of a great nation like ours must be exercised with restraint and humility to avoid appeasement on one side and total war on the other.

Are the people of the United States prepared to accept the responsibilities of leadership in these crucial days? Are they willing to pay the price of power? In many ways our country has risen to the demands of this crucial hour in history. But there is mounting evidence that many of our people believe that the price of world leadership is too high. This unwillingness to accept our responsibility to the world community expresses itself in increasingly frequent and unjustified attacks upon the United Nations, and in opposition to all forms of economic and technical assistance abroad. This mood of withdrawal is not the old geographical isolationism, but a moral isolationism which fails to recognize the interdependence of all peoples and their mutual responsibility under God.

It is precisely in these difficult and anxious times that the churches of Christ in the United States must speak and speak clearly. With one accord the Protestant and Orthodox churches of this country have affirmed the mutual dependence of all nations and peoples under a God who is sovereign. What does this central affirmation mean in an hour like this? What can the churches say to the people? What insights can the churches give to those who make decisions that affect millions of persons throughout the world?

To consider these grave questions the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., through its Department of International Justice and Goodwill, is calling a nationwide Study Conference on the Churches and World Order to be convened in Cleveland, Ohio, October 27-30, 1953.

I call upon all of our constituent churches to co-operate in the preparatory study leading to the Conference as well as in the educational program which will follow. Let us all pray that God may use this Conference as an instrument of his peace and grace.


president

National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the United States of America

5 February 1953

A Message to the Churches—

Christian Faith and International Responsibility

*Adopted by the Fourth National Study Conference
on the Churches and World Order*

We Belong to a World-Wide Community

As Christians, we belong to a community of faith, knit together by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and our common loyalty to him. That community joins in one world-wide fellowship those who in ages past, today, and in ages yet to come call upon the name of the Lord and seek to serve his righteous will. We are also members of the community of mankind, created in God's image and all held within the embrace of his loving purpose. Despite the sins and shortcomings of Christians everywhere which obscure the unity and universality of the Church, we yet know that it is one and universal and that it claims the whole-hearted loyalty of each of us. We believe it to be the will of God to bring all men into that perfect communion with himself and with each other in which Christ's commandment is fulfilled that we love God with all our heart, mind, soul, and strength, and our neighbors as ourselves.

We acknowledge that as members of Christ's one Church, we are members of one another with all our fellow Christians across the world. All of us together are inescapably involved in the conflicts of national power, of race, of dominion, of social systems which ravage our world. The ties which bind us to our brothers in Christ and to all men everywhere require of us a concern for all that burdens and distorts their lives and our relations with them. This concern goes beyond that which arises from the fact that our own lives are burdened and threatened by the political and economic disorders of our world.

We Speak as Christians and as U. S. Citizens

While we necessarily speak out of a background of our Christian heritage, we are nevertheless aware of the significant and valid contributions which people of other religious and cultural traditions have made and are making to the solutions of the problems confronting us. We eagerly seek their contribution and welcome the light which they bring to the solution of our mutual problems.

Along with our Christian brothers in other nations we accept, as part of our Christian duty, responsibility toward the civil society in which we live. As American Christians, citizens of a nation with great wealth and power, we

feel with special urgency the need to affirm our common bond with Christians and with the people of all other nations. Yet at the same time we must speak of the world crisis as Christians who are also citizens of the United States.

We will seek, therefore, to speak as Christians and as American citizens to American citizens about American responsibilities in the world community. In this task we greatly need the insights and concerns of Christians in other lands to correct our limitations and prejudices as citizens of one nation.

Central in the faith which unites the Christian community is the conviction that God who is revealed in Christ is the Lord of history, the Ruler of men and nations. He wills justice, peace, freedom, and brotherhood. One of the Church's tasks is to challenge in His name the pride and the pretensions of men and nations, and in the light of God's law and reconciling love to prompt them into courses of action which are in harmony with his purposes. The Church also has the responsibility of providing an example of true community in its own life and fellowship.

Yet faith and hope and love need to be implemented with conscientious and continuing study of existing conditions and of historical trends in order to provide guidance for a responsible foreign policy.

Our Decisions Stand Under the Judgment of God

Our Christian faith requires that man acknowledge his responsibility to God. As a nation and as individuals our responsibility to him rises above all other claims and responsibilities. We can find peace and order only as our ways are conformed to his ways. We stand under his judgment and, in the light of that judgment, must make our decisions in international relations with humility and contrition. Our faith in God and love for him and for our neighbors help us to make decisions and to act in the face of all our failures and perplexities. Our faith culminates in an indestructible hope that at the last God will fully manifest the sovereignty of his love in Christ and gather all that he finds acceptable in history into the fulfillment of his kingdom. In that hope we can live and act in quietness and in confidence amid the darkness and insecurities of our time.

The Christian faith does not provide us with clear-cut blueprints or easy answers for the tragic problems of the world's disorder. We must guard ourselves and others from the illusion that there is any simple or permanent solution of them. It is difficult for nations to develop and maintain the will to pursue a responsible policy. As American Christians we need to resist the temptation to believe that a nation which publicly professes Christian ideals is thereby assured of divine approval of its policies. And we must especially avoid the assumption that a solution lies in making the rest of the world over as nearly as possible into the pattern of the United States.

Revolutionary Upheaval in Vast Areas

Two massive realities dominate the world situation. One is the revolutionary upheaval in vast areas of the world. The other is the conflict between the Soviet world and the free world. These two major realities are distinct yet interrelated. Each needs to be seen and understood in its own character, yet any dealing with one is complicated by and bound up with our dealings with the other.

One of the chief facts of our time is the ferment among the peoples in technically less developed areas. This ferment is complex. It includes a passionate nationalism in rebellion against colonialism and domination in every form. It is a revolt against hunger and misery associated with feudal patterns and foreign or domestic exploitation. It is pervaded by resentment against racial arrogance and discriminatory practices of the dominant peoples of the West.

This ferment is in part induced by progressive elements in the indigenous cultures, and in part by influences from Western societies. High standards of living, democratic ideals and practices and, not least, the impact of the missionary movement have helped to convert resignation to age-old evils into revolt against them. Of central importance has been the emphasis upon the worth and dignity of persons.

As the Western societies face the new and changing situation in the technically less developed areas, there are many factors on both sides which make understanding and the establishment of equitable and stable relations difficult to achieve. Inexperience, extremism, and persistent suspicions on the part of peoples in the technically underdeveloped areas; complacency, fear, and attachment to privilege on the part of technically more advanced nations combine to trouble relationships.

As Christians, we have a special obligation to see both the creative and the destructive possibilities in this new ferment, which the preaching of the Gospel has helped to create. The ending of ancient injustices, the movements toward national self-respect and self-government or political independence, the coming into their own of the darker-skinned peoples of the world, the struggle for economic development and social equality—all these carry with them creative possibilities. On the other hand, the tendencies to excess and to rabid and self-enclosed nationalism, the uprooting of traditional loyalties and disciplines without accepted substitutes, the clear danger of a new tyranny for these peoples in process of emancipation—these have grave portents for the future.

Soviet Communism vs. the Non-Soviet World

The other major issue is the conflict between an aggressive Soviet Communism and the non-Soviet world. To meet this explosive situation respon-

sibly, American policy must meet two immediate requirements. One is to resist the extension of Communist totalitarianism. The other is to avoid a third world war. The need to overcome the threat of both tyranny and war will in all likelihood be with us for a long period and to it the United States must be prepared to commit its power and resources. We cannot succeed in this negative task unless we persistently and constructively seek to establish the positive conditions for peace and justice.

Soviet Communist power combines faith in a system of ideas, emphasis upon technological and social programs, propaganda which exploits human hopes and resentments, ruthless suppression of every form of dissent, a world-wide conspiracy, all backed by great political and economic power and a mighty army. The Western societies must meet all aspects of this threat, but with methods consistent with political and spiritual freedom. Military strength seems to most of us to be essential, but political and economic health, social and spiritual vision are more basic.

Beyond the immediate challenges of the Soviet-free world conflict, Christians must insist upon continuing analysis of the possibilities and limitations of co-existence between the Soviet and the free societies. The differences are so fundamental and the lack of confidence on both sides is so deep and stubborn that anything worthy of the name of reconciliation appears impossible at present. Since it is our Christian faith that God can bring about changes that seem beyond human power, we refuse to believe that such reconciliation is finally impossible. Meanwhile the free societies must make every effort to negotiate workable agreements with the Soviet world without compromise of basic convictions. In the face of atomic death which menaces all mankind, every possible advance toward adequate control of armaments and toward the mutual trust essential to this end must be seen as an urgent necessity.

Co-existence with the Soviet Power System

The minimal basis for co-existence is the recognition on both sides that peace is better than armed conflict, especially when war threatens mutual annihilation. In the light of our faith in the creative sovereignty of God over history we cannot accept another global war as inevitable or close the door to the possibility of a genuine relaxation of the present tensions. Indeed, every opportunity to develop even a temporary easing of tensions should be seized by the United States, and we should give no grounds for accusations of intransigence or by closing the door to negotiations. Co-existence with the Soviet power system does not mean acquiescence in its tyrannous cruelty nor indifference to the fate of peoples living under its rule. For these peoples we must continue to cherish freedom from external control of their own destiny, and conditions more favorable for the development of political and spiritual freedom. By example and persuasion, by humanitarian measures, and by actions in accord with the purposes of the United Nations, America must do all within

its power to assist peoples under Soviet Communist rule to cling to the goals of a free and responsible society, in the hope that there may be changes in the Soviet system and policy conducive to freedom and peace.

These peoples in Communist countries, human beings like ourselves, must not be identified with the cruelty and tyranny of Soviet power. Many are Christians, all are persons beloved of God. Our churches have a responsibility for making clear the distinction between these peoples and the Soviet power system.

The two massive realities we have analyzed are distinct yet interrelated. We must be on our guard against over-simplifying the situation by viewing one of these facts as only an expression of the other. Indeed, they involve basic contradictions. There is a tendency in some quarters to see every revolutionary movement in the world and every evidence of resentment or hostility as the direct result of Soviet machinations. But we shall deceive ourselves if we believe that the removal of Communist power would eliminate all the problems arising out of the ferment among the peoples in the technically less developed areas or elsewhere. In other quarters, there is a tendency to see communism as simply the result of economic deprivations and social injustices. But, again, it is too simple to imagine that the improvement of the economic and political health of the non-Communist world would alone insure a genuine transformation of Kremlin policy or a radical modification of the Soviet empire.

If these two major realities confronting us have independent roots, they are also interrelated and must be dealt with as such. Soviet communism moves into every area of ferment and resentment, offering promises of immediate and far-reaching solutions. Sometimes natural sympathy with movements for national freedom must take account of the danger of leaving a young country open to Soviet domination. In seeking both to resist Soviet aggression and to further the conditions of freedom and justice throughout the world, the United States and other free societies are faced with grave decisions, which can be rightly made only with a humble sense of our human limitations. The situation in which we as a people are called to act responsibly is not only economically burdensome and politically dangerous, but also morally complex and difficult.

U. S. Needs the Restraint of International Co-operation

The power of the United States has increased so rapidly in recent decades that it is difficult for our people to be aware of its proportions and of the responsibility it carries with it. As Christians we believe this power is a trust from God; neither a historical accident, nor the fruit of special virtue. The churches are called to help our nation measure up to its responsibility and to avoid alike the temptation to use its power recklessly or to evade the burdens it brings.

Because of the magnitude of our world responsibilities, we Americans should welcome the counsel and criticism which naturally result from international co-operation. By so doing we may be enabled to use our great power and to express our generosity and our national idealism with greater effectiveness. It is easy to lose patience with the complex ways of international diplomacy. We find it hard to understand why other nations may regard our wealth and our power with a mixture of respect, fear, envy, and misgivings. It is difficult for us to be sufficiently sensitive to the feelings of friends and partners with fewer advantages. As a people we must learn to accept other nations not only as partners but also as instruments of judgment on our national action. It is for us to remember that no nation is good enough, wise enough, or strong enough to go its way without a decent respect for the opinions of mankind.

Against this background we American Christians should evaluate United States foreign policy, especially the role of our country in the United Nations and in the various regional security arrangements to which it is a party. Our Christian recognition of the self-centeredness and finiteness of men should guard us against expecting more from these associations than they can offer even while our faith keeps us sensitive to the claims of our neighbors upon us.

The United Nations: Achievements and Limitations

The United Nations came into being as an instrument for peace and co-operative action among nations. Its achievements have been great although the obstacles in the world situation have been serious. The United Nations has provided a world forum for discussing explosive issues and a means of settlement in a considerable number of situations which otherwise might have led to war. It has been a constant force for collective security; has brought into new focus the oneness of mankind; has given to the world its first comprehensive Declaration of Human Rights; has channeled large sums into the rehabilitation of war-ravaged countries; has set up an extensive program of technical co-operation; and has initiated a variety of specialized services for men, women, and children.

We would face realistically the existing limitations in the organization and operations of the United Nations. Some of these grow out of the continuing fact of human selfishness and fallibility; others are inherent in any structure in which sovereign nations endeavor to work together. The divisions of our contemporary world cannot be overcome by mere structural changes in the international organization. For example, the goal of universality is qualified in theory by the willingness and ability of prospective members to fulfill the commitments of the Charter, and in practice by various considerations of political expediency. Such abuses as that being made of the veto power may be lessened by revisions of the structure but will be eliminated only by winning nations to a new purpose and spirit of co-operation.

As Christians and citizens of the United States we have an inescapable

obligation to support the United Nations as a body essential to the freedom of nations and the peace of the world. Likewise, we have responsibility for its growth and improvement. This we can discharge only by honest concern, by criticism of weaknesses and recognition of strength, by contributing to an improved international climate, by urging the United Nations itself to effect further specific advances within the framework of the present Charter, and by encouraging such revisions as may strengthen the Charter and the organization.

We look forward to the further development of the United Nations into a far more effective instrument of collective security, replacing war with the rule of law, freedom, and justice.

The Peril of Withdrawal and Isolation

We call upon our nation to rise above partisanship, to deal with issues upon their merits, to endeavor to work understandingly with nations whose policies differ from ours as well as with those of similar policies, and to remain steadfast in loyalty to our Charter obligations.

Within the United States there are powerful factors moving us toward co-operation, and other forces which would lead us to withdrawal and isolation. Recognition that even enlightened self-interest requires responsiveness to the world's needs has been shown in the employment of American skill and wealth in rebuilding war-ravaged economies through the Marshall Plan and in upbuilding technically less developed areas through the Point IV Program. Over against such acts of statesmanship examples of irresponsibility toward the world community can be cited, such as pressure for restrictive tariff policies, discriminatory sections in the Immigration Act of 1952, and wholesale resistance to continuing foreign aid without offering a constructive alternative. Christian faith teaches us that we are placed by God in an order of material and spiritual interdependence, and that we go against the grain of his order when we fail to recognize that interdependence or to play our full part in the processes of mutual co-operation which it demands.

Technical Co-operation and Foreign Investment

The idea of technical assistance is one of the great ideas of our time. Indifference to existing contrasts between plenty for the few and want for the many cannot be reconciled with the law of love. Moreover the way in which America shares its skills and resources with peoples endeavoring to improve their conditions of living is of paramount importance. Americans should rejoice in the revolt of these peoples against immemorial misery and stand ready to associate themselves with this struggle for a better future. We should urge upon our government patient and persistent participation, through its own agencies and through the United Nations, in constructive programs of technical co-operation. These programs will be more effective if kept free from subordination to military considerations. Governmental and intergovernmental

action may be essential for a long time; so likewise will discerning and responsible action by business and industry, private philanthropy, Christian missions and other nongovernmental agencies. This enterprise in all its aspects should engage the service of persons who possess not only the requisite skills but also a humble sense of vocation and of genuine identification with those among whom they work. To raise up among its sons and daughters such servants of the common good is a major responsibility of the Christian Church.

We believe there should be an expansion of private long-term investment abroad. Through private investment there is opportunity to contribute to the economic development of other countries to our mutual advantage. However, in the light of unstable conditions and considering the kind of investment in large-scale noncommercial projects needed in many countries, it appears necessary that for some time at least a substantial part of investment abroad may have to be accomplished through public investment on either a single national or an international co-operative basis. We should increase our support for the development of the underdeveloped countries, recognizing the particular services which the United Nations can contribute to this high purpose.

U. S. Productivity and International Trade

The tremendous influence throughout the world of U.S. economic strength and policies makes it imperative for us to judge major policy alternatives in the light of what we believe to be the moral responsibility of our country. We should support those policies which lead at home to greater productivity, economic stability and high employment, and in the rest of the world foster economic development and stability and higher living standards. The economic well-being of our country is in part dependent on what happens in other countries. It is likewise true that the maintenance of our domestic prosperity and productivity is one of the major contributions to world economic stability which our nation can make.

In the light of these principles, we believe that Christian citizens should work for the growth of world trade and the gradual reduction or elimination of artificial barriers to trade. Accordingly, it is our conviction that the United States should reduce or eliminate import tariffs and trade quotas principally through a more than temporary continuance of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program and participation in the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT) on a multilateral as well as bilateral basis. Also, continued efforts to simplify tariff and customs classifications, valuations and procedures are desirable.

We believe that a willingness upon the part of the U.S. to accept more imports not only is economically and morally the logical resultant of our creditor position but also is beneficial both to the world economy and to our own. By increasing our imports we can reduce the necessity for foreign economic aid.

The United States and Collective Security

The United States has a moral obligation to protect her own security. This obligation extends not only to her own security; it involves the effort to realize through many channels the values of freedom, justice and peace for other nations and eventually for the entire world community. Actually this is the best, and it is increasingly becoming the only, adequate method to protect our nation. This method is called collective security which is a far more inclusive term than military defense.

This country is committed to the pursuit of collective security through the UN. We believe that the UN furnishes the basic framework through which our nation should seek its security. Until there has been developed a trustworthy system of collective security under the UN it has been deemed necessary for our government to join with friends and allies in pacts, such as NATO, for mutual defense in accord with the provisions of the UN charter.

But we now live in the age of the hydrogen bomb. Therefore, we must explore every possible means of ensuring collective security, apart from the use of military power.

We urge our government, therefore, to press for the largest practicable degree of disarmament through the UN, as we seek the goal of universal enforceable disarmament. We urge also that the functions of the UN in developing moral judgment as to conditions causing tensions and threatening war be magnified. We ask our own government to take the lead in emphasizing all those activities of the UN which aim at the substitution of good offices, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and the counsel of the world community for armed force as a means of settling disputes. Without the development of peaceful alternatives, collective military effort may win a temporary victory, only to plunge the victors into new conflict.

National Security and Civil Rights

In the face of the critical and morally perplexing decisions our country must make, the internal health and strength of America are of crucial importance. An informed and courageous public opinion provides the essential support for our policy-makers and is a major factor in the meaning of the United States for other peoples. Yet there is a serious danger that in an anxious quest for security in an insecure world, our people shall fail to distinguish between a legitimate *security from espionage* and a bogus *security from dissent*. The threats of subversion from within and the much larger threats of aggression from without are real and ugly facts. But security purchased at the price of free discussion is a false security. The demagoguery which, in the name of "Americanism," seeks to exploit fears, foment suspicion, by-pass due process of law, and stifle differences of opinion, is a most grievous type of un-Americanism. Through such behavior the strength of America's

policy in the world is sapped at its source. Peoples abroad are made to wonder what American freedom now means. Our young people at home are confused by the way the safeguards of freedom are set aside. Genuine security depends on freedom—including the right to dissent from the majority. This is the genius of our democratic inheritance and an unfailing source of our strength. Only by guarding this freedom can America have an informed and courageous public opinion. Only by guarding it can our nation offer leadership to peoples struggling for freedom against powers which brutally suppress all dissent.

Another source of America's strength in world affairs is the variety of racial and national groups within our borders. The cry for justice has quickened the national conscience, which finds expression in the progress of racial and cultural relations. Yet this progress moves too slowly to satisfy either the demands of conscience or the needs of world freedom. Every evidence at home of discrimination because of race weakens the influence of America for justice and peace abroad. If our condemnation of racial injustice overseas, such as policies of "apartheid" in South Africa, is to carry conviction, it must be grounded on a greater measure of racial justice at home. On this issue the need for a courageous Christian witness and action, in obedience to God's will for righteousness, is clear and compelling. Our churches can make no effective witness here save as we press forward persistently toward making every house of God a place where men of every race and tongue may enter freely to make their peace with God and overcome their estrangement from one another.

Fear Not the Bomb, But Man

One task of the churches is to leaven public opinion in our nation by a living testimony to the moral law with which God undergirds his world. A nation that considers only its own self-interest will inevitably conceive it too narrowly. As Christians we are called upon to remind the nation of God's truth that "he who loseth his life shall find it." Only by going beyond self-interest shall we serve even this interest fully. The service of the welfare of the whole human community is not a violation of our national interest, but rather is essential to our well-being as a nation. Men and nations are dependent upon one another. We need the strength which flows from generous cooperation and mutual criticism. Our national interest must be defined in terms broad enough to include the rights, needs and interests of other nations and peoples, including those we now count as hostile. Christians, as members of a world-wide brotherhood, are in a special way the guardians and bearers of this witness.

Human organizations are in the hands of fallible men. World catastrophe may now result from the use of power by men without moral restraint. The thing to fear is not the bomb but man. Here the witness of the Church speaks to the need of our time. We must urgently preach the Gospel. God makes men new creatures in Jesus Christ.

Report of Section 2

The United States and the United Nations*

In the providence of God, the United Nations was created in response to the longing of peoples for a just and durable peace. Its work is in many respects directed toward goals which Christians believe to be in accordance with God's will for justice among his children. Christians, therefore, have a duty to study the issues before the United Nations, and to pray and work for a better fulfillment of the purposes set forth in its Charter. In the early years of its history, its achievements have been significant in fact of the distressing obstacles which are part of the world situation.

Political Settlements Made Through the United Nations

The United States of Indonesia came into being when the United Nations successfully shifted operations from the battlefield to the round table conference at the Hague. As a result of its good offices respecting Greece, a threatening situation in the Balkans was stabilized, full-scale war prevented, and the return of some of the kidnapped Greek children facilitated. While perplexing issues remain to be resolved in Palestine and Kashmir, the UN provides facilities for their settlement by peaceful means. In the corridors of the UN informal conversations between Western Powers and the Soviet Union led to the lifting of the Berlin Blockade. When the Great Powers were unable to reach a settlement on former Italian colonies, the UN laid the foundation for an independent Libya, and constructive action has also been taken to safeguard the political integrity of Eritrea and Somaliland.

By an overwhelming majority, the United Nations voted to recommend collective action when its commission in Korea reported that aggression had been perpetrated. In spite of tragedy and error, the UN has demonstrated its power to resist and to stop aggression. It now remains to be seen whether peace can be established and the objective of an independent and unified Korea achieved by peaceful means.

Efforts to Extend Human Rights

In the area of human rights and fundamental freedoms the UN has advanced on many fronts. For the first time in history there has been given to

* This report and the reports from the three other Sections were received by the conference and commended to the churches for their study and appropriate action.

the peoples of the world a Universal Declaration of Human Rights. While this Declaration does not have the status of law it does set forth a definition of the minimum rights and freedoms to which men everywhere are entitled. The Declaration has been translated into 36 different languages and the moral impact of its affirmations can be seen in the constitutions and laws of a number of states.

Steady progress has been achieved in the drafting of Covenants of Human Rights. Many difficulties stand in the way of the completion of this task. It is reassuring, however, that the UN is determined to persist in its efforts to establish under law the rights and freedoms of people everywhere. For the first time in history, there has been negotiated an International Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide which places the mass murder of defenseless political, cultural, and racial minorities under the ban of international law. A Convention on Political Rights of Women has been approved and submitted to the member states of the UN for ratification.

Economic and Social Activities

In the area of its economic activities the UN has initiated and carried forward a program of technical assistance. If an enduring peace with justice is to be achieved there must be gradual improvement of the living standards of those peoples who now suffer from grinding poverty and many other forms of economic and social deprivation. To this end the UN is pooling the technical resources of the world community in an adventure of goodwill that corresponds at many points with the Christian thesis that those who are strong shall bear the burdens of the weak. Some 1,500 specialists recruited and trained by the UN are presently engaged in such tasks as increasing the productivity of agriculture, improving health standards, and training personnel in fields of social welfare and public administration.

Through the UN efforts are being made to facilitate world trade, to encourage the promulgation of policies of land reform and to meet the complex problems related to population pressures.

Through the UN the world community has assumed responsibility for a ministry of relief to refugees and displaced persons. It is presently caring for the needs of some 874,000 Arab refugees and for the millions of persons displaced by the hostilities in Korea.

The well-being of subject and dependent peoples is a concern of the United Nations made manifest in a wide variety of constructive measures designed to ensure their political, economic, social, and educational advancement. Through its Specialized Agencies the UN is rendering a service of genuine benefit to mankind.

Over and beyond its more specific achievements it has brought into focus

the essential oneness of mankind and provided an opportunity for the fuller expression of universal brotherhood. It has permitted the exercise of moral judgments and thus has forced governments to take into greater account common interests of nations. In many instances the work which the United Nations has done has provided an alternative to war as a method of settling international disputes and harmonizing the interests of nations. Through its arrangements for formal and informal consultation by nongovernmental organizations it has opened the way for the voices of the people to be heard directly in its deliberations. Considering the formidable issues confronting this young organization in the first eight years of its life, it is astounding that it has accomplished so much.

The Value of Constructive Criticism

We do not overlook certain limitations inherent in the structure of the UN as now constituted, nor do we deny the wholesome value of constructive criticism in regard to its operations. Any hope of progressive development toward greater effectiveness depends in large measure upon the continuation of a realistic appraisal, which is both intelligent and objective.

At the same time, it would be folly to ignore clear evidence that there are in the United States organized campaigns of deliberate misrepresentation and vicious attacks upon the UN are being widely pressed. Such unfounded criticism by the use of falsehood, half-truths and distortions could undermine the steady progress being made to improve the UN. Churchmen and church agencies must be vigilant to offset this threat by a ministry of truth.

The UN is an Association of Sovereign States

A fundamental limitation is based upon the fact—which some tend to overlook—that the UN is not an international government, but rather an association of *sovereign* states. Its degree of effectiveness in areas where national interests clash depends upon the voluntary decisions of independent member governments. Whenever these member governments, because of misunderstandings, fears, or unilateral interests, are unwilling or unable to cooperate toward the achievement of desired goals, the authority of the UN cannot go beyond that of moral pressure. The frustrations resulting from such situations in UN procedures merely reflect the disorders of a divided although interdependent world. The fault lies in the nations themselves and in the tensions among them, as well as in certain inherent limitations of the UN.

Strengthening the United Nations

In order to meet the changing needs of an even more interdependent world community, the United Nations must grow. This growth can take place along at least three complementary lines.

1. The UN can be strengthened by better, more responsible use of the instrumentalities provided by the Charter. The member states have failed at many points to live up to their commitments under the Charter. Issues too often are considered, not on their merits, but on the basis of short-range interests and domestic political considerations. Debates are frequently used as a form of political warfare rather than as a means for concerting the actions of states for common and constructive ends. The resources required for the carrying out of agreed policies are insufficiently supplied. The UN is too often by-passed through unilateral action.

2. The United Nations can grow through the evolution of powers inherent in the Charter or delegated to it by common consent. The Charter is flexible enough to permit the development of UN potentialities in many directions. Examples of such natural growth are seen in the recognition of the "abstention" as a useful procedural device, and in the establishment of new procedures for the General Assembly, through the Uniting for Peace Resolution, to cope with Security Council deadlocks on threats to the peace.

Possibilities and Limitations of Charter Revision

3. Further, there is the question of Charter revision, scheduled for debate by the UN General Assembly in 1955. While major, formal changes in the Charter require the concurrence of the permanent members, and thus face in intensified form the obstacles which hamper the present operation of the UN, it is important that discussion of Charter revision should go forward within and outside the United Nations.

Christians and other men of goodwill should be alert to opportunities for improving the United Nations through Charter revision. At the same time, it is important to be equally alert to the dangers of premature efforts at Charter revision for which the essential pre-conditions of mutual confidence and common interest have not been established. The present Charter was created out of the sufferings and hopes of a world engulfed in global war while the major victors were still bound by common urgencies. The development of the "cold war" and of other conflicts provides a much less favorable climate today, but every possible improvement should be urgently sought. There are important forces which would attempt to use Charter revision to weaken or destroy the United Nations. Thus Christians must also guard against moves to undermine the organization or to kill it through extreme and unrealistic demands.

Some revisions of the Charter would seem to carry relatively little risk and could, in fact, strengthen the United Nations. The rule of unanimity among the major powers (veto) could be limited so that it will not apply to the admission of new members nor to decisions on the peaceful settlement of disputes. The Disarmament Commission which was set up by the General

Assembly could be made a permanent organ and given a status comparable with that of the major UN councils. We support such Charter revision as is necessary to give the UN the authority to carry out an effective plan of universal and enforceable disarmament.

Other revisions would appear more difficult to effect and carry the danger that weaker provisions may result. The changes in voting procedure in the General Assembly, the complete abolition of the veto, increased international responsibility for dependent territories in their progress toward self-government, and increased powers of the General Assembly should be explored with clear understanding of the risks involved.

We believe that our government, well in advance of the 1955 UN General Assembly, should present to the American people and the governments of the other member states proposals for revising the Charter.

Recommendations on Specific Issues

The extent of growth and effectiveness of the UN will depend in a large measure on the decisions taken on many specific issues. We submit recommendations on six of these issues. (Five of the six recommendations from Section 2 were adopted by the Conference as Resolutions. They are: Treaties and Executive Agreements, Technical Assistance, Refugees, Communist China, and Palestine. These Resolutions are found on pages 42-45. The sixth recommendation follows.)

Human Rights: We recognize that world tensions must be eased in order to provide a climate in which adequate texts of the international covenants and measures of implementation may be completed, and their adoption by the UN and ratification by member governments secured. We are seriously concerned that the government of the U.S. has given advance notice that it does not intend to ratify the covenants. We strongly oppose any tendency to reject in principle the device of an international covenant as one form of international action to promote the observance of human rights. We deplore the failure of Congress to ratify the Conventions on Genocide and the Political Rights of Women. At the same time, we welcome the initiative of our government in proposing an action program on human rights whereby the UN will enlist the co-operation of member governments and we express the hope that with necessary modifications it may be given effect.

How the United States Can Work More Effectively in the UN

The great economic and political power which the U.S. has and the role of leadership it exercises in the world today require that it participate as a responsible member of the United Nations. This means that the U.S. should use the UN as a major instrument of its foreign policy and accept the moral

restraint imposed by genuine co-operation in the community of nations. With due appreciation of the part which our government seeks to play, we call attention to certain ways in which its contribution can become more effective.

1. In fulfilling its obligation of membership in the UN, we believe that the U.S. should appoint delegates whose public records reflect a regard for democratic principles and who are equipped for the specific tasks which representation imposes.
2. The UN provides for its member states a forum and an atmosphere congenial to the settlement of their disputes. Our government should always keep the door open to negotiations and should refrain from rigid political prejudgments that may become barriers to agreement when conditions become more favorable.
3. The U.S. is called upon not only to appropriate its full share of the UN annual budget, but also to support the various activities operated by the UN.
4. The American tradition of devotion to freedom and self-government for dependent peoples must not be obscured by our support of metropolitan countries when disputes with their dependencies are brought before the UN. Without ignoring legitimate claims of our allies upon us, we must press as rapidly as the best interests of dependent peoples warrant for their independence or self-government.
5. We believe that purely party interests should be subordinated to the achievement of a clear U.S. policy of full participation in and support for the UN. In order to avoid confusion and to promote effectiveness, there is need for greater co-ordination of U.S. agencies responsible for the formation and interpretation of our foreign policy.
6. We commend our government for its policy of consultation with the representatives of United States nongovernmental organizations and express the hope that facilities therefor will continue to be provided. We favor the continuance by the Department of State of its conferences for NGO representatives and its program of information and interpretation to the public. These arrangements, supplementing the normal democratic procedures, help to bring the considered judgments of the American people to bear upon foreign policy decisions.

The churches exercise a major role in forming U.S. public opinion. They should accept the responsibility of dealing fairly with the UN, neither claiming too much for it so raising false hopes, nor dismissing it as irrelevant in the world of nations today. There is need for study of the UN as an important instrument of the nations through which God's will for community, justice, and freedom on earth may be furthered.

Report of Section 3

The United States and Foreign Economic Policy

Our Economically Interdependent World

As Christians we believe that our country is responsible to God and to the world community for the effects that its economic practices have on people wherever they may be. As Christian citizens we have a clear duty to work for those national policies which lead to a healthy and expanding economy and greater equality of opportunity in the United States and to economic development and improved living standards in the rest of the world. We believe that economic welfare is of the community of justice and freedom which God wills for all men, a community in which all persons accept their responsibility to their neighbor and acknowledge God as their Father.

We recognize and affirm the economic interdependence between our country and other nations and peoples. We have a common interest in each other's economic advancement. We see in this mutual dependence the essential unity of mankind under one God. National policies which fail to recognize the mutual dependence and mutual responsibilities of all peoples fall short of the ethical demands of the Christian faith.

We acknowledge the complexity of economic issues and the need for technical understanding. But we have a right and duty to consider the overall policy alternatives facing our country in the light of our Christian faith to express our convictions about the goals of U.S. foreign policy, and to work for their realization.

As Christians we recognize the ever-present dangers of seeking our own economic advancement at the expense of others and of forgetting that God is the source of all things. We should seek the guidance and forgiveness of God in carrying out our economic responsibilities to the world.

Economic policy must take into account political and military considerations as well as strictly "economic" factors, particularly in a world confronted with the threat of Soviet aggression. Often our national "economic" goals are in conflict with other goals and difficult decisions must be made. Christian insight should help us arrive at a priority of goals in a particular situation.

The policy-makers of a democracy must take seriously the values and goals of the people in whose name they act. Public opinion to be effective must be

openly expressed, and directed to the executive branch, to the Congress, and through the channels of influence provided by the major political parties. Careful study by Christians should result in a truer understanding of issues, convictions as to the directions policy should take, and in some cases specific conclusions.

Five Foreign Economic Goals

In the light of U.S. responsibility to the world community and to the American people, we believe that Christian citizens should work for the following interrelated national economic policy objectives:

1. The maintenance of high level income and employment in the U.S.
2. The fostering of world trade and the reduction or elimination of trade barriers.
3. The expansion of long-term American investment abroad.
4. The continuance of foreign economic aid and technical assistance to meet clearly established needs.
5. Co-operation with other nations in constructive programs for the promotion of world economic health.

The issues involved in U.S. foreign economic policy today cannot be understood without recognizing the extent to which the economic well-being of our country is dependent on what happens in other parts of the world and also the tremendous influence which the U.S. has on the world through the sheer weight of its economic power. In our present interdependent world both political and economic isolation are impossible.

The influence of the United States in the economic field on the rest of the world is exerted mainly through policies in connection with (a) our domestic level of employment and income, (b) our commercial and international monetary policies, and (c) our foreign investment and aid programs.

U. S. Prosperity and the World Economy

The maintenance of prosperity and increasing productivity in the United States is one of the greatest contributions to world economic stability and development that our nation can make. Our country is the world's greatest single market for exports from other lands. The prosperity of many countries depends to a large extent upon their ability to sell in the American market and on our willingness and ability to buy. Political stability and social development in other countries are often dependent upon domestic prosperity and all three suffer if we cut down on imports.

A decline in economic activity here is quickly passed on to other countries by a cut in the imports we buy from them, thus reducing their badly needed dollar earnings. When, on the other hand, prices of raw materials, manu-

factured goods, and foodstuffs go up here, countries which import these items must pay more for them, which tends to induce inflation both in their economies and in the world market. In short, the ups and downs in the level of income and employment in the United States, with their impact on the volume and the prices of imports and exports, constitute perhaps the greatest single influence by this country on the prosperity and stability of the rest of the world.

While the U.S. has been slow to recognize the international effects of its domestic economic fluctuations, the Employment Act of 1946 does represent a national commitment on the part of the American people to use available economic knowledge and known policy tools in an effort to maintain a high level of income and employment within the framework of democratic procedures and a modified free enterprise system. Since, however, even minor economic fluctuations have serious consequences abroad, we must be willing to consider means of offsetting their adverse effects. As Christian citizens we have a moral duty to work for a stable, productive and full-employment economy without which our nation will be unable to fulfill its responsibility to its own people and to the world community.

The Effect of U. S. Trade Policies

Although U.S. exports amount to only about five per cent of our total output of goods and services each year, these exports vitally affect our whole economy because they absorb sizeable percentages of the production of our agriculture and mass production industries. A substantial loss of foreign markets will fall hardest on particular sectors of agriculture and industry and on particular sections of the country and will certainly mean unemployment for many workers and lower profits in the farms and enterprises directly affected.

A healthy U.S. economy requires imports as well as exports. Although our country is rich in resources, our high level of industrial and consumer demand requires many products which we do not produce at all or which we have only in short supply. Our need for imports is likely to increase as we further deplete some of our irreplaceable resources.

Imports are important also because the dollars we pay for them are used to buy goods and services from us. We cannot go on selling without buying unless we are willing to make up the balance through grants or some other form of economic assistance. For some years, world economic conditions, including U.S. policies, have not made it possible for most other countries to obtain sufficient dollars to permit their citizens to buy U.S. goods without restriction. The two elements which today largely bring international supply and demand into balance—restriction by foreign governments of demand and the provision of foreign aid by the U.S.—provide temporary solutions only. In the long run, it is clearly desirable to free international trade from

unnecessary barriers so that human and natural resources may be used in the most efficient way and each country may benefit from the specialization of others.

U. S. Tariffs Hurt the World Economy and U. S. Economy

Our national trade policies affect the level of exports and imports. A restrictive or high tariff policy in the U.S. leads other countries to set up various controls aimed at reducing imports from the U.S. It makes it difficult for us to provide leadership towards the removal of barriers. The resulting network of trade and exchange restrictions holds back economic expansion throughout the world. We believe that a willingness to accept more imports in the U.S. will benefit not only the world economy but our own as well. By increasing our imports we can facilitate the payment of debts, reduce the necessity for foreign economic aid, and provide a sounder market for our exports. A parallel responsibility, of course, rests on other countries to produce the high quality and competitively-priced goods that foreign markets will want to absorb.

One of the unhappy aspects of the cold war has been the reduction of East-West trade. Although such commerce has modest significance for the U.S., it has larger significance for many other nations. Now, when we are exerting pressure on friendly nations to curtail their trade in strategic products with the Soviet bloc, we have a special obligation to help them find alternative markets. Some expansion of East-West trade in non-strategic items can perform a useful service in breaking down barriers and establishing contact.

Protectionism is rooted deep in American history. Protectionists sometimes argue that imports constitute "unfair" competition because foreign workers are paid less than American workers and also that imports will create domestic unemployment. The important question, however, is not what imports do to a particular industry but what they do to the economy as a whole. A greater volume of imports will necessitate adjustments within certain industries but these are likely to be insignificant compared to the benefit our economy and the rest of the world will receive.

The principal barrier to imports is the tariff, but there are also quotas, embargoes, processing taxes, and other restrictions, as well as a bewildering maze of complex customs regulations and procedures. "Buy American" legislation, passed in 1933, requires federal and state governments to buy domestic rather than foreign products unless this is "inconsistent with the public interest." Furthermore, duties on foreign products are sometimes regarded as less restrictive than the uncertainty of the regulations importers must observe. Under the "escape" clause in the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act a domestic producer may claim undue injury by imports and petition the Tariff Commission for an increase in a duty previously reduced in a trade agreement.

The "peril points" amendment requires the Tariff Commission to place limits on tariff reductions which cannot be exceeded by the President without an explanation to Congress.

The protectionist controls built up over the years cannot be abolished overnight. In working for their progressive reduction, however, the following four principles might be observed: (a) tariff reductions should be gradual, not abrupt; (b) tariff reductions should be selective; (c) tariff policy should be designed to reduce uncertainty; (d) means might be devised for relieving serious hardship to domestic industries and communities resulting from tariff reduction. Observance of these principles would tend to maximize the benefits to be derived from tariff reduction while minimizing the problems created.

Recommendations for Increasing Imports

In the light of this analysis, we recommend for consideration the following suggestions for increasing imports and for making U.S. foreign economic policy more responsible to the world situation:

- Continuation of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement program on a permanent basis with elimination of the "escape" and the "peril points" clauses.
- New legislation permitting the United States to lead the way toward trade liberalization by means of unilateral tariff reductions.
- Consolidation of our various import controls and enactment of further legislation simplifying import procedures.
- Repeal of "Buy American" legislation.
- Detailed study of agricultural protectionism, particularly the quotas and embargoes, and an attempt to resolve the conflicts between our foreign trade interests and the desire of farmers for greater economic security.
- Encouragement of foreign travel by our citizens as a major source of dollar earnings to other countries.
- Reconsideration of the requirements that a minimum of 50 per cent of foreign aid cargoes be carried on American-owned ships in the light of the major purpose of the foreign aid program, which is to assist other countries.

The United States also influences the world economy through its international monetary policies—exchange rates, exchange controls, and gold movements. The position taken by the U.S. on gold purchases, exchange rate policy and international currency arrangements has a significant effect, helping or hindering world trade. Christian citizens should study these technical matters and should support those policies which seem most likely to promote expanding multilateral world trade and investment.

The Expansion of Long-Term American Investment Abroad

The United States is the chief source of capital in the world today. Poorer countries are limited in developing economically by the fact that their national income does not make substantial saving and investment possible. We support the expansion of long-term American investment abroad because of its potential contribution both to the world economy and to the U.S. economy. American investors abroad have been increasingly concerned with the needs and rights of the people in the communities where their operations are located. We commend and would encourage this recognition of social responsibility.

The political, social, and economic climate of the world today is not conducive to private foreign investments. The world is torn by ideological conflict, burning nationalistic sentiments, social upheaval, and civil and military strife. The potential American investor usually feels the risk is too great and the return too small. The areas that need development capital most (Asia, the Middle East, etc.) often are the ones with the least attractive climate for investors. There will probably be no substantial expansion of private investment until there is greater peace and stability in the world.

Most evidence indicates that a larger proportion of foreign investment in the near future will be provided by governments directly or through international agencies, especially since capital is needed largely for purposes such as irrigation, roadbuilding, and power. Activities of the Export-Import Bank as the main U.S. government agency for making loans to other nations should not be curtailed; if anything, they should be expanded. The most ambitious attempt to revive international investment, however, has been the establishment of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, known as the World Bank, which started operations in 1947. The purpose of and conditions surrounding each loan are carefully investigated by the Bank and the exploitation of less-developed economies is thus prevented and economically sound and socially beneficial investment promoted. This institution is worthy of full U.S. support.

U. S. Programs of Foreign Aid and Technical Assistance

The U.S. is currently carrying on various types of foreign assistance programs, including military, economic, relief, and technical. Military assistance has been given primarily, though not exclusively, to our Western European partners in NATO. Economic and relief aid have been distributed more widely and have sought to aid refugees, reconstruct shattered economies, and deal with balance of payments problems. Most Americans have regarded this as emergency aid and acknowledge that it has been usefully spent. After Korea and the decision of the free world to embark on a program of partial mobilization, a new economic crisis arose among U.S. allies necessitating a

continuation and expansion of foreign aid. Considering the issues at stake and what the high cost of *not* giving aid might have been, it would appear that the economic and political accomplishments have been eminently worth while.

Technical assistance to the economically less developed areas of the world is by far the least costly of our aid programs but its significance cannot be measured by its size. Its objective is to wage war on poverty, ignorance, and disease by making available specialists and technical knowledge, from more developed countries. Our country has its Point IV Program and also contributes to the technical assistance program of the UN. The United States should increase both its technical and financial aid to economically underdeveloped areas and should provide this aid as far as possible through the medium of the United Nations. The plan to establish a Special United Nations Fund on Economic Development (SUNFED) merits study.

The U.S. is a member of all the specialized agencies of the United Nations and also of many other international organizations promoting political, economic, and cultural co-operation. The UN was never designed to "solve" social, economic, or political problems. It was established to promote cooperative action among sovereign states in facing all such problems. The accomplishments through the UN in the field of economic and social policy have been substantial. We support the full participation of the U.S. in those UN and other international agencies which are working for economic stability and development in the world.

Report of Section 4

The United States and the Less-Developed Areas

Plenty for the Few, Poverty for the Many

Our present world presents a contrast between plenty for a minority of its people and a severe shortage of the basic necessities of life for the majority. In North America, Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and a few other areas the majority of men and women have access to education, competent medical care, and at least minimum requirements of food, clothing, and shelter. But in Africa, the Near East, Asia, and Latin America most people still do not have the basic necessities of life. Hunger, disease, and illiteracy exist on such a scale as to shock the moral conscience and threaten all hopes for genuine community: local, national or world-wide. Despite the ravages of war and gaping inequalities, Western people and particularly North Americans must confess that they live on a plateau of plenty, so high above the plains where live the majority of the world's people that those on the plateau can scarcely comprehend the misery in which most of their fellow men exist.

In Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America there is a many-sided and growing revolt. It is a revolt against poverty, against domination by politically and technologically more advanced nations, against the doctrine and practices of "white supremacy," against colonialism, against their own feudalistic systems, often against inefficient or corrupt domestic government. There is a swelling demand for food, education, health, freedom, equality, and self-respect.

Misery is no longer to be accepted as the unalterable fate of great masses of men. Modern technological development has made a better living standard for all people a practicable aim.

Another aspect of the same struggle is that for centuries, and reaching a climax in the early years of this century, a large proportion of the people in Asia, Africa, and the Near East lived in a state of political and economic subservience to Western nations. In self-governing countries of Latin America and elsewhere stratified social systems and single-product economies condemn large masses of people to conditions of subjection, ignorance, or want.

The Demand for Self-Government

More than 140 millions are still in nonself-governing territories. The colonial order had beneficent aspects, but in the minds of dependent people,

and with much justification, it meant primarily outside control without consent, local resources used chiefly for the enrichment of foreigners, and attitudes of superiority whose expression ranged from polite condescension to brutal disregard of human dignity.

Few now defend the old colonial system. Almost all give at least lip-service to the goal of self-determination and freedom. But the suspicions and resentments created over many years cannot quickly be dissipated. Most Americans do not appreciate the sweep and fervor of feeling on this issue. The fact is, the colonial powers of yesterday and today are generally not trusted by the people in the underdeveloped areas. And because the United States is involved in the colonial system and is closely associated with the nations that have been or are great colonial powers, this distrust is directed also toward our country.

Any tendency on the part of the more powerful nations to deal with questions involving Asia or Africa without consulting the responsible leaders in those areas is quickly resented and denounced.

Technical Co-operation with Less-Developed Areas

Today the United States government directly and through the United Nations is giving technical assistance to certain economically less developed countries which request such aid. Church groups, foundations, corporations and other nongovernmental agencies are also engaged in technical assistance programs.

The purpose of these programs of technical co-operation is to raise the standard of living in the host country by improving public health, raising educational standards, and increasing economic productivity generally. Experts from more developed countries are invited to less-developed areas where, working shoulder to shoulder with local people, they seek to raise more food, control disease, improve sanitation and health services, teach people how to read, improve roads and start new industries. Technical aid helps people to help themselves.

The U.S. bilateral program of technical assistance (Point IV) is carried on through the Foreign Operations Administration. It was formerly administered by a separate agency of the State Department. FOA is responsible also for economic and military aid formerly administered by the Mutual Security Agency. The 1953-54 appropriation for technical aid is \$118,234,500. This is \$22,000,000 less than the President requested.

In addition to its own program the U.S. has contributed 60 per cent of the budget for the technical assistance program of the UN. Congress appropriated \$9,500,000 for this year's program, \$13,750,000 less than the President requested.

Church and other voluntary agencies with experience in technical assistance abroad have advised and assisted the UN and U.S. programs.

Technical aid is no panacea. It does not meet all human needs. Even if pursued with utmost energy, it could not alone in a few years refashion the material basis of great and ancient societies. Feudalism, landlordism, political corruption, tradition, superstition, and other barriers cannot easily be overcome.

The Point IV Idea is Profoundly Right

Despite some failures and justifiable criticism Point IV assistance has been favorably received. The fundamental idea is profoundly right and a good beginning has been made. Some 1,400 Americans were recently at work in 35 countries. More than 850 nationals from less developed areas are in the U.S. for special training. U.S. and UN teams have succeeded in reducing the incidence of malaria, raising agricultural productivity, improving sanitation, and a hundred other things. When held to its central purpose—helping people to help themselves—and administered in the spirit of mutual sharing the technical assistance program can be an instrument of great good. Plenty for the few and want for the many cannot be reconciled with the Christian law of love.

The Impact of Democracy and Christianity

Some of the unrest in the less developed areas may be the result of Communist propaganda. But much more important have been the example of high living standards in the West, the democratic ideals and practices, and, not the least, the impact of the Christian missionary movement.

There has been some deliberate misrepresentation of America in these areas. Movies and tourists have often given a distorted picture of our life and values. Nevertheless, there are genuine weaknesses in our culture which are barriers to full co-operation with the peoples in less developed areas. The most vulnerable aspect of our national life is our racial segregation and discrimination. Significant gains in improving the situation have not succeeded in erasing the impression in some quarters that the U.S.S.R. is a greater champion of human rights than the U.S.

Recommendations for Action

In light of the above analysis, we make the following recommendations to the churches:

1. Christians should share more boldly than ever before the resources of their faith, which in the midst of social upheaval give ultimate meaning and direction to human life. This missionary witness must take full account of the actual social situations and needs of men and make

clear the relevance of the Christian faith to the problems of community and national life.

2. In addition to maintaining the spiritual witness through overseas missions, American Christians should increase greatly their support of reconstruction agencies and mission boards in their programs of helping people to help themselves.
3. Both public and private bodies with overseas programs should choose dedicated representatives who are not only technically competent but who embrace humility and other spiritual qualities which will enrich their work and their incidental contacts.
4. Our churches should lift up, along with opportunities in Christian missions, the need for Christian service abroad in government, private industry, and voluntary agencies.
5. Christians should continue to press for the progressive elimination of economic and political colonialism. Definite timetables for the assumption of self-government should be established as rapidly as possible and the training of capable national leaders should be intensified. Our churches should be especially concerned with those areas for which the U.S. is directly responsible, the trust territories of the Pacific and the Ryukyu Islands. We also urge the churches to give intelligent support to the work of the UN Trusteeship Council and to promote full U.S. participation in it.
6. (The recommendation on racial discrimination submitted by this Section was adopted by the Conference as a Resolution. See page 44.)
7. Technical co-operation should be an expression of goodwill, divorced from military aid and security objectives. These programs should be conducted always to conserve and promote human dignity and the freedom of individuals and nations. They should be based on a pooling of available experts and financial resources.
8. The U.S. should fully support the UN Expanded Program of Technical Assistance by increasing its financial contribution. (The recommendation concerning economic development is treated more fully in the Report of Section 3.)
9. The U.S. should conduct its bilateral Point IV program so it will supplement and strengthen rather than compete with the UN program.
10. The U.S. program and the U.S. contribution to the UN for technical aid should be regarded as a long-term commitment, so that participating countries can be assured of U.S. aid.

Report of Section 5

The United States and Collective Security

The God who is at work in the world is the Redeeming Lord of all men and nations and the Source and Judge of all power. All nations, therefore, are ultimately responsible to God for the ordering of their affairs and for the exercise of the power which they have. Apart from this responsibility there is no adequate foundation for the security and freedom, the justice and peace, which many nations now so earnestly seek.

National Security is a Christian Concern

The United States has a responsibility commensurate with her power. It is a responsibility both for national security and for the larger values of freedom, justice and peace throughout the world.

As Christians we are deeply conscious that the justification for this defense of the security of the United States, by methods which will preserve and enhance the freedom and other values which this nation represents, depends upon the quality and kind of national life thus defended. A responsible defense of United States security recognizes a) our own failure adequately to fulfill our democratic and religious heritage, b) our own limited power and resources, c) the necessity for allies and friends joined together in regional and collective self-defense arrangements under the United Nations charter and d) the need for steady co-operation with them.

The Need for Collective Security

In the mid-twentieth century world, the nation-state by itself alone can neither defend its own values nor establish a general freedom and justice; only in co-operation with other nation-states can it adequately meet either responsibility. While we defend our own security we must at the same time try to realize to the fullest possible extent the values of freedom, justice and peace, for other nations as well as our own, and eventually for the entire world community. Actually this is the best and possibly the only way to defend our national security. Moreover, according to the Christian gospel, nations as well as men that are concerned solely with security and self-defense lose even these. When we seek simply to have security we get into a vicious circle, we never have enough. The United States today may be too exclusively concerned

with the problems of defense. Security is a necessary national goal, but it cannot be achieved by making it the supreme national goal. We are morally obligated to seek the fullest measure of freedom, justice and peace for the international community which the tragic limitations of a sinful world permit.

Here, too, U.S. responsibility necessarily involves co-operative action with other nations. The UN represents the primary commitment we have made to such co-operation.

The clear duty of the Christian in the United States as elsewhere is to have and to preach a humble awareness of the temptations of national pride and the actuality of national limitation and sin.

To fulfill our responsibility, both to ourselves and to others, for security and for larger values, the United States must participate today in collective security arrangements.

It is tragically difficult to respond to God's justice and love in specific political decisions. Moral dangers are inherent even in the better choices. This is illustrated in the search for security. Each nation tends to seek its own national security which is good, but at the expense of its obligations to the world community, is bad. Yet the desire for national security, in the present world, almost inevitably draws nations together in mutual obligations and assistance.

The Christian has a clear judgment here. God's justice and love commit us to work for political arrangements which connect national security with the good of the world community. Spiritual advance and danger are both found at each level of joint action by nations.

Collective Defense Arrangements

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), for example, contains concrete obligations which go beyond a narrow view of national security. Properly used, it may develop mutual understanding and community, and be a valuable step in the painstaking work of building world-wide security. We must not, in our desire for more ideal arrangements, fail to take such effective action as we can take through such real and existing instruments.

But such groupings also have the danger of a narrow interpretation of security, ignoring the world-wide nature of God's love and justice.

We want to develop a strong joint defense against Soviet imperialism, but as we do so we must not fall prey to a tribal religion. God is Lord of East and West, judging and working for the redemption of both. Though we must resist the gross evil in the Soviet totalitarian system, we must not in doing so assume that the U.S.S.R. has a monopoly of evil or the United States of good.

To conceive of Soviet imperialism as the only, and total, evil leads to the ugliest kinds of nationalist and absolutist pride and injustice. It may also be an un-Christian attempt to deny our own guilt by loading it all on others. We must, therefore, work not only to oppose Soviet imperialism but to make the free world more truly free.

Collective Security Directly Under the United Nations

As a member state in the United Nations, the United States has a direct obligation to support the inclusive collective security system of the UN, and a further implied obligation to make every effort to strengthen that system.

We believe that United Nations Collective Security System is a step forward from conditions where each nation relies for security entirely on its own armed forces and military alliances with other armed nations. Therefore, the United Nations collective security system should be supported. It would be a backward step for the United Nations to withdraw from the security field leaving world's military power in complete anarchy.

We believe, however, that United Nations collective security, depending on the general promises of armed nations to prevent or check aggression is not, ideally, a satisfactory solution.

The United Nations should move as rapidly as possible to a system of collective security which prevents preparation for aggression through world disarmament.

A More Effective Collective Security System in the UN

Even in a more effective collective security system which may emerge in the UN, dangers and difficulties still would exist. No ultimate realization of God's justice and love can come at any level of collective arrangement.

Any such collective system may become an instrument for the defense of the status quo in the face of just protests against it. A collective organization of nations, formed on the basis of an existing set of power relations, will tend to represent the interests of the major powers which formed it. It will tend to justify its defense of the status quo in the name of the defense of peace, saying that anyone who revolts is upsetting the peace. Therefore it may tend to perpetuate the injustice in a static situation. A collective security system must not leave the group which protests, in the name of what it believes to be justice, no recourse but violence. Justice is not always on the side of the keepers of the peace. There must be means for peaceful change and the peaceful adjustment of claims must be made still more effective. It has been well said that peace to endure must be enduring.

Values and Dangers of Collective Security

The most serious long-range problem of the development of the collective instruments now emerging is that of change. The willingness of nations to

admit that they stand under a universal God and a universal justice is a necessary condition of any "just" and "durable" peace. This means that there must be flexibility and willingness to use diplomatic means of adjustment in every nation's policy. The development of the political means by which change may peacefully be brought about is a crucial, long-range practical problem, as well as an immediate problem which must be met as best it can with the means presently at hand.

These dangers and difficulties must not keep Christians from working for effective collective security. The gravest moral danger of all is not one of those we list above, but the danger that we will shirk our responsibility to co-operate with other nations in maintaining the values we hold in common, and at the same time in making a concerted effort to strengthen the collective will, especially through the United Nations.

The Christian faith impels us to insist upon our obligations to others. We can never "go it alone"; we can never have "a free hand," for we are bound together in mutual responsibility with all others whom God made and loves.

As instruments in fulfilling our universal responsibility, collective arrangements have the distinct moral advantage, other things being equal, of providing a concrete restraint on the egoism and pride of each nation. All nations are limited and sinful and all nations should remain open to, and even welcome, the restraint which other nations provide.

Collective arrangements also can increase the mutual awareness of problems and points of view. Most important of all, collective arrangements increase the possibility of attaining security, freedom, justice, and peace.

The Christian is warranted by his faith in accepting the possibility that God will use even the difficulties and dangers in the road to real collective security as instruments in the achievement of his purposes.

These dangers and difficulties arise because in our sin and ignorance we tend to overestimate our own security needs and to underestimate our responsibility to the world community. In this time of excessive concern for security, Christians must emphasize the larger understanding of security in which there is that daring and willingness to take risks which express faith in God and his justice.

Recommendations for More Effective Collective Security

In light of the foregoing analysis of the issues confronting the United States in the area of collective security, the following recommendations are made:

- 1. We urge** continued and vigorous support of the United Nations. This does not mean that we endorse all the actions of that body without qualifica-

tion; we could not do this, for it is a human institution. But the United Nations is at present our best hope through the organization of nations for the attainment of the collective security of all nations and peoples. It provides the framework for the functioning of a system of collective self-defense, and at the same time furnishes the most favorable atmosphere for the patient and determined building of a more universal and effective system of collective security.

- a. We recommend that the United States encourage the UN to give the Peace Observation Commission and the Collective Measures Committee larger responsibilities.
- b. We recommend that the United States urge the creation of a United Nations liaison committee to give guidance in political matters when a collective security action is being carried out.
- c. We recommend that studies be set in motion by churches, by other voluntary organizations, and by government agencies, concerning the review and possible revision of the Charter as provided for in Chapter 18 of the Charter, in the light of the constitutional development of the UN in action and in the light of the further needs for the strengthening of the purposes and procedures of the United Nations for more effective collective security.

2. We recommend to further the development of a collective security system, that increased efforts be made to find effective methods for the just and peaceful settlement of disputes and for the establishment of social, economic, and spiritual conditions in which tensions leading to violence are diminished. In keeping with the mission of the Christian Church for preventing war and advancing peace, is the work of the United Nations for the reconciliation of nations and people through negotiations, good offices, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, and commission reports. We strongly recommend the development of these procedures in as many fields of international tensions as possible.

3. We recommend that the United Nations move as rapidly as possible to a system of collective security which prevents preparation for aggression through universal disarmament with adequate safeguards.*

4. We support the proposal of the President of the United States and leaders of both parties that the immense savings from disarmament be used not only for the strengthening of the economic and social base of a free America, but that a large part of such savings be devoted for the recovery, reconstruction and well-being of all the people of the earth for our sake and their sake in the development of the collective security of freedom and peace in the world.*

* This resolution has been abbreviated because the substance of it is found in Conference Resolution No. 8 on Universal Disarmament, page 44.

5. We support, during this interim period of historical evolution to a more adequate organization for world security our present collective defense system under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, and continue to do so wherever and to the extent that we are convinced of the relative justice of its cause. NATO, the Rio and the Pacific pacts represent collective self-defense arrangements which are crucially important in our joint opposition to Soviet totalitarian tyranny and all other forms of imperialism. They are necessary to preserve both our own national security and that of other free nations, and promote freedom, justice and peace, as well as security, but they must never be allowed to obscure our vision or obstruct our progress toward the ultimate goal.

In supporting collective defense arrangements we urge the strengthening of the nonmilitary, political, economic, social, and cultural aspects of these arrangements. In connection with our support of NATO we urge that the United States take the lead in the formation of a Consultative Assembly composed of representatives of legislative bodies of the NATO nations, meeting regularly to discuss problems of mutual interest and making recommendations to the Council of NATO.*

6. We support the United Nations collective action against aggression in Korea although we are keenly aware that military action is a tragic compromise of the Christian ideal. The UN action is not only a collective defense of the freedom and other values this country represents, but is also a hopeful step in the direction of a broader collective security system. From the Korean experience we can learn much about the difficulties and possibilities inherent in such action. We urge the U.S. to increase its already substantial help for the relief of this tragically devastated country.

7. We urge upon our own nation the patience and vision and intelligence to choose policies in this time with restraint and moral insight. We in the churches help to mold the moral climate in which the delicate and agonizing task of collective security is worked out. We must confess our failure to build an understanding of the problem of policy and the moral courage to make the hard decisions they require. We suggest to ourselves, in the churches, that we acknowledge our own impatience and lack of vision, and work to correct it as we try to increase the patience and vision of the people of our land.

The way is hard, as the moral requirements of life are always hard in a sinful world in which war has long had a part. Collective security requires patience, sharing and give-and-take with each other, a steady and disciplined moral purpose and the willingness to make sacrifices. We are bound together with our friends in all nations to make our way with all moral fortitude

* The Conference voted to permit a statement of a minority view, opposing the inclusion of the two paragraphs under recommendation 5, to appear as a footnote at the end of this Section report. See page 41.

through these hard days of trial. We move forward toward a world order in which war will be eliminated.

We pray to Almighty God, revealed in Jesus Christ as the Father of all, for the brotherhood of all. May we with Christian faith and hope take courage for patient work in these difficult times of the long human pilgrimage toward the kingdom of God.

A Minority Statement

A motion to delete the two paragraphs under point five on page 40 was lost by a vote of 149 to 69. The entire report of Section 5 was received by the Conference for transmission to the churches. There were 14 negative votes. The minority statement prepared by a group of delegates who favored the deletion of point five follows:

Recognizing the force of the reasons which have prompted the formation of regional military alliances, we nonetheless desire to record our convictions:

1. That the adoption of point five seems to throw the weight of approval on rearmament rather than on disarmament, thus contradicting the admirable statements made elsewhere in the report.

2. That the system of military alliances will tend to lead to war rather than to peace in the future as in the past.

3. That the support of such alliances will effectively curtail the pursuance of the nonmilitary objectives of the United Nations.

4. That the extension of the regional defense principle will heighten existing international tensions, deepen rather than reconcile present cleavages and may eventually imperil the continuance of the UN.

5. That the mission of the church is to help our country make historic decisions in a spirit of world-wide rather than regional concern.

6. That the church should be the church, and mindful of the experience of the church in other lands, we hold the conviction that our conference should refrain from aligning itself in support of military policies based on existing political cleavages and rival military systems among the nations.

The Conference Resolutions

In addition to adopting the Conference Message and receiving the reports from the four Study Sections for transmission to the churches, the Conference adopted the following twelve resolutions on current United States foreign policy issues. These resolutions voice the judgment of the Conference and were commended to the churches for their study and appropriate action. They were also referred to the Department of International Justice and Goodwill for its guidance in the preparation of study materials and in the formulation of policy statements for subsequent submission to the General Board of the National Council of Churches.

1. Negotiations with the Soviet Union

We believe that the United States should persist in negotiations as the method of settling international disputes in spite of all the frustrations that have been experienced.

Our country should give no ground for the accusation of intransigence or of unwillingness to make a new approach when new possibilities of action arise.

The differences between the Soviet sector of the world and the sector of the world that is free from Communist control are so fundamental and the lack of confidence on both sides is so deep and determined that a trustworthy general settlement will be most difficult to achieve. Meanwhile the nations opposed to communism should make the most of any present opportunity to ease tensions, even temporarily, and should seek to negotiate agreement without compromising basic convictions. We believe that our government should be open to such negotiations on all levels though it is beyond our competence to say in what order negotiations on various levels should proceed.

2. Treaties and Executive Agreements

The principle of co-operation and mutual concern implicit in the moral order and essential to a just and durable peace, calls for a true community of nations. The United States can best insure its own peace and security by strengthening, and not weakening, the processes by which our nation exercises its rightful influence within the family of nations.

The power of our government to negotiate treaties and to make executive agreements should be so maintained as to ensure a) that the United States will not be hampered in taking expeditious and effective action in fulfilling our responsibility as a member of the world community of nations and b) that the United States should be in a position to make its full contribution to the continuing development of international law and to bring international relations into greater harmony with the moral law. Convinced that adequate safeguards respecting the making of treaties and executive agreements are already provided, we express our opposition to any Constitutional amendment which would hamper our government in carrying forward and making effective a responsible foreign policy.

3. Technical Assistance

Recognizing the critical importance of increasing the social, economic and moral strength of the less developed areas through greater use of technical co-operation and related economic assistance and development programs, we urge:

- a. That these programs be recognized as of prime and long-term importance in United States foreign policy.
- b. That the United States provide sustained and increasing financial support for the United Nations expanded program of technical assistance.
- c. That financial support of the United States technical co-operation program be substantially increased.
- d. That separate United States programs be conducted in such a way as to strengthen the United Nations programs of technical assistance.
- e. That United States technical co-operation be directed to the service of broad human need and be free from subordination to United States military and strategic requirements.
- f. That both public and private agencies make every effort to select representatives who are not only technically competent but also possess with humility high moral and spiritual qualities as well as a devotion to the welfare of the people of the host country and a sympathetic understanding of their culture and traditions.

4. International Financial Assistance

We recognize the need for international financial assistance to supplement technical assistance efforts. We urge that the United States give serious and sympathetic consideration to the need for international financial assistance for economic and social development, particularly when its aim is to help establish conditions in less developed regions which will enlist expanding capital investment, both private and public, both domestic and foreign.

We deem the proposed Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development worthy of study and possible endorsement by the churches.

Further, we urge that additional United States action on such financial assistance in no way be made dependent or contingent on disarmament.

5. Surplus Foods in the United States

In a world where a large proportion of the population is still hungry and malnourished, the United States has a continuing responsibility to see that its surpluses of food are used at home and abroad. Through the Food and Agriculture Organization and other agencies, the United States should continue to strive for ways to assure adequate production and distribution of food to meet the world's need. We commend the steps taken by Congress in 1953 to appropriate money for the disposal of surplus food now on hand, but we call attention to the fact that the steps taken thus far are inadequate to move the present surpluses to people in need.

6. Dependent Peoples

The United States should support clearly and consistently the principles of the United Nations charter designed to promote the "well-being of dependent peoples including their advance toward self-government and the development of their free-

political institutions." The United States should be prepared to offer technical and financial assistance, and with special attention to training for national leaders to facilitate the rapid and peaceful achievement of these objectives for people still dependent and to enable countries which have recently achieved their independence to build the necessary economic, social, and political foundations for playing their full part within the interdependent world community.

Since governmental and intergovernmental agencies are restricted in their action in this field, we call upon church, business and voluntary agencies to explore opportunities to render assistance in these areas, and especially for direct aid to responsible persons and/or groups seeking technical and financial aid for sound and constructive development projects.

7. Racial Discrimination and Foreign Policy

Racial discrimination and segregation in the West, and particularly in the United States, has become a powerful factor in world affairs. Segregation and discrimination in churches, in employment, in housing, in the right to express one's political views and in public service undercut our moral position among the darker-skinned peoples of Asia and Africa. As American Christians we must do everything in our power to eliminate discrimination, both in our churches and in society at large. We also urge agencies of the United States government, of philanthropy and of religion to make their staffs racially inclusive both at home and abroad. While significant progress has been made in eliminating segregation in the United States and in the employment of minority groups in operations abroad, we have a long way to go before even the minimum requirements of our democratic heritage are fulfilled.

8. Universal Disarmament

We support the principle expressed in the bipartisan House Concurrent Resolution 132, now before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, which states that "it continues to be the declared purpose of the United States to obtain, within the United Nations, agreements by all nations for enforceable universal disarmament" under the United Nations inspection and control. We urge development of plans for the transfer of resources now being used for arms to constructive ends at home and abroad in fulfillment of such hopes as those voiced in the proposals of the late Senator Brian McMahon and by President Eisenhower.

9. Refugees

We note with satisfaction that the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees has been extended for a period of five years. We urge the United States government to continue full co-operation with this Office and to contribute to the UN Refugee Emergency Fund. It is highly important, on all problems of statelessness and migration, that the policies of our nation should be determined in close co-operation in the appropriate UN and other international agencies. With respect to refugees who do not now fall within the responsibility of the High Commissioner—as in the case of Palestine, Korea, and other lands—we believe the United States should, to the fullest extent possible, work through and support generously the UN organs and other intergovernmental agencies. In addition we should receive within our own borders our fair share of refugees.

10. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952

We observe that the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 continues certain negative and restrictive aspects of the immigration laws it has superseded. We

believe that the United States needs in this period of world tension a more enlightened immigration policy imbued with the spirit of justice and fair play. While acknowledging the complexity of the problem we believe that the allocation of quotas embodied in this legislation is arbitrary, unrealistic, and indirectly discriminatory in character and that a more equitable basis of allocation should be sought. We believe that the provisions of this legislation respecting the civil rights of immigrants are not in harmony with basic American principles. In view of the foregoing, we believe the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 should be amended. We urge the members of our churches to give careful study to this problem and to communicate their recommendations to Congress.

11. Communist China and the United Nations

The United Nations has formally designated the Peoples Government of the Republic of China as a party to aggression in Korea. So long as this indictment stands, the problem of recognition and acceptance of representatives at the UN is not a matter for immediate decision. We do hope that changed circumstances may make possible a revision of policy and urge that the changes regarded as necessary be carefully studied and clearly stated.

We, therefore, recommend that the Department of International Justice and Goodwill be requested to initiate a study of the problems here involved in order to identify any moral principles that may be relevant to provide Christians with information on which sound decisions can be based.

We strongly urge the United States government to adopt a flexible policy and, by resisting pressure to decide now what its policy shall be at some future time, to maintain such freedom as will permit wise action on the basis of conditions as they may progressively develop.

12. Palestine

We record our concern about recent border incidents in Palestine which reflect a deep-rooted conflict and which taken together imperil the peace of the Middle East as well as of the world. We view with appreciation recent measures of our government designed to put a stop to the violation of border agreements. We believe:

- a. That the United Nations, firmly supported by the United States, should find ways to end tensions and move from the present stalemate to permanent peace.
- b. That every effort must be continued to find agreement by negotiation whether under the UN or by direct consultation of the governments immediately concerned.
- c. That, pending the settlement of differences by negotiation, the UN should make available an accurate and objective analysis of the causes underlying these tensions.
- d. That, since the solution of the Arab refugee problem is dependent upon economic and political settlements, the United States and the UN should seek fresh and creative approaches which will be just and impartial both for the Arab countries and for Israel.

A Closing Statement

This statement, written by the Rt. Rev. Angus Dun at the request of the Conference Message Committee, was approved by the closing plenary session. Bishop Dun was chairman of Preparatory Commission No. 1 which wrote the background paper, Christian Faith and International Responsibility. This paper served as the basis of discussion in the Message Committee.

Our task has been to think together of God and of our country; especially of our country in its relations with other countries. We have tried to think of them together that we may help, if only a little, to bring them together. We have sought to see our country as God sees it and to see other peoples and our relations with them as God sees them. Since for us God is the over-ruling Power and the just and loving Will served by Christ and coming among us in Christ, we have sought to think of our country and of Christ together. And when we do this we cannot think of our country alone. He constrains us to look with him and to move with him out towards our brethren everywhere, even towards our enemies.

We Love Our Country

We love our country. We love that part of the good earth which is ours. We love home and kindred. We are proud of its memories, its heroes, its inventive genius, its tradition of freedom, its tolerance of differences, its generosity. But we cannot forget that other men love their countries, too.

Within those patterns of common life which we call *peoples* and *nations* our personal lives are set from birth to death. Largely according to where we were born, we share the blessing or the curse, the burdens or the opportunities of our people or nation. For the Christian the place in which he finds himself is the place where he is called to honor God and serve his neighbor.

We Americans find ourselves in a pleasant land. We are rich, as the world goes; rich in natural resources and in human skills. We are strong in productive capacity, in the health of our people, in the position we occupy. We are disquietingly strong in the weapons we possess.

When we think of our nation and of God together, there is much for which we can give thanks, with humility. So much that is ours is more a gift than an achievement, or an achievement made possible only by a gift. With the gift comes responsibility to the Giver.

Our Part in the Struggle for Full Human Dignity

In vast areas there are peoples who know hunger as we have never known it, people who have not achieved the mastery over nature that we enjoy, peoples who have been subject to foreign rule and have felt themselves looked down upon by white people like most of us. These peoples stir with hopes and resentment. They seek liberation and nationhood and full human dignity.

Because we have the memory of a struggle for independence we sympathize with those who struggle for independence. But until our pride is broken by God we are inclined to feel superior to those peoples, because they are foreigners and darker skinned. In some cases we are fearful—and with reason—that if they gained their freedom they will be so weak that hostile powers will occupy and violate their land and increase the threat to us. Naturally we try to tell ourselves that we are thinking of their good as much as our own. But that is not quite clear. A worldly wisdom tells us that we need friends in a dangerous world. A higher Wisdom asks us whether without guile we are sharing good gifts with brother men in need—how to sow better seed, how to harness rivers, how to guard against disease, all that we call technical assistance.

Far more disturbing than the ferment among the peoples of the technically less developed areas of the world is the hostility towards us and all that we value, of the other strongest power in our world, Soviet Russia. In that vast land a revolutionary movement has gained control. It carries within it a fanatical faith in its power to create an earthly paradise by violence. It is godless and openly materialistic. It has shown a frightening capacity to master technical skills for the purposes of war and conquest. It has infiltrated and overwhelmed neighboring peoples. It has gained control of China and other countries.

Even in the face of this threat we are called to think of God and our country and our relations with other peoples together. We shall not find wisdom in fear. We shall not gain strength from hate.

We Must Resist the Extension Tyranny

We are called to be strong, strong to resist the extension of this tyranny, and to accept the burdens of remaining strong. And even in our strength we are called to look ceaselessly for every way to reduce by agreement the strength that destroys and to build the strength that brings life and healing and reconciliation. We are called to be patient, patient to outwait and to outlive this tyranny, if that is granted us, and not to take upon ourselves before God the responsibility of loosing upon his world the horrors of global war. And while we gather and hold our strength, we are called to set forward in

every way open to us the positive conditions for justice and peace which are his will for us.

The terrible responsibility which God has laid upon us reaches into every area of our national life and our relations with other peoples.

In our relations with the peoples we most fear, every opportunity to develop even a temporary easing of tensions must be seized by the United States. No grounds must be given for accusations of intransigence or of closing the door to negotiations.

We Must Co-operate with Other Nations

Just because our power is so great we must learn to accept other nations not only as partners in the struggle for collective security but also as enlargers of our limited vision and as checks upon our too ready assumption that our self-interest coincides with the world's interest.

Because God has placed us in an order of material and moral interdependence, we have an urgent obligation to support the United Nations as the instrument which now most fully expresses and channels that interdependence. We must accept its limitations which are part of our human limitations even as we seek the ways of strengthening it.

Americans should rejoice in the revolt of long depressed peoples against immemorial misery. We must share our skills with these peoples in the fullest measure that our economy will permit.

In the economic sphere, we should support those policies which lead at home to greater productivity, economic stability and high employment, and which in the rest of the world foster economic development and stability and higher living standards.

The internal health and strength of our country can be maintained only by guarding our freedom, including the freedom to dissent from the majority. And only by guarding it can our nation offer leadership to peoples struggling for freedom against powers which brutally suppress all dissent.

Every evidence at home of unjust discrimination because of race or religion weakens the influence of America for justice and peace abroad.

We cannot foresee or control what the future holds for us or for our children. We are not responsible for the unforeseen or unforeseeable consequences of our own actions. We are responsible for doing all within our power to bring the wealth and strength of our country into the service of God's will for his children in the confidence that in that service alone our nation can find its freedom and its peace.

Are You One of the 79,999?

Only one person out of 80,000 who are members of churches in the National Council was able to take part in the Cleveland World Order Conference. If you are one of the 79,999 who were not at Cleveland you can start making up for it by studying this report and other recent publications of the Department of International Justice and Goodwill.

- **Christian Faith and International Responsibility 30¢**

The 48-page official report of the Fourth National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order. Quantity rates.

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A Letter from the President

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 27, 1953

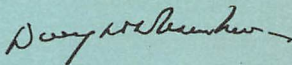
Dear Mrs. Horton:

I am happy to send greetings to those participating in the National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order. This conference can make a real contribution not only to public understanding of the foreign policy issues of our time but to the sound conduct of our foreign affairs as well.

The National Council of Churches of Christ — sponsor of this conference — has already done a remarkable job in this respect. It has consistently supported the government's efforts to secure a realistic international disarmament agreement, to achieve the recognition and the safeguarding of human rights and to further international economic cooperation. It played a major role in the events leading to the establishment of the United Nations and in its support of the United Nations today, it is just as forthright as it was at the time of the organization's founding eight years ago.

For the moral and spiritual strength on which we must draw as we advance toward our goals of peace, justice and good will among all peoples, we who have responsibilities of government count on the churches and synagogues of America.

Sincerely,



Mrs. Douglas Horton
Chairman, National Study Conference
on the Churches and World Order
Hotel Cleveland
Cleveland, Ohio